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A Study of the Isle of Man, 1558-1660

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A STUDY OF THE ISLE OF MAN

1558-1660

by

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The main reason for writing this thesis is to produce a complete history of the Isle of Man during the period from 1558 to 1660. In order to achieve this it will be necessary to examine that island from every important aspect, and an attempt will be made to do it without including an excessive number of details. The main categories discussed in this work will be geography and history, rulers and society, education, religion, and military and naval affairs. Sources that were not available but probably would have been valuable are listed in appropriate footnotes, not in the bibliography.

Throughout classical and medieval literature various names have been given to the Isle of Man, for example Julius Caesar called it Mona and the Venerable Bede referred to it as Menavia secunda. Eighteenth-century writers referred to the town in Man as Sodora, where the bishop of the island had his see. Man, the last of the Hebrides Islands near Scotland, is almost the same distance from Cumberland in

England, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Ireland.[1] The island is thirty miles long and eight miles wide. As far as physical characteristics, Man is principally a high, rocky land near the coast which extends into the sea during the low tide.[2] From Sceafull, the tallest mountain of the isle, on a sunny day a man may readily see England, Ireland, and Scotland.[3] In the northeastern section of the island the coast and the beach are high, yet in the southeastern section the land is low. Because most of the coastline contains many rocks, ships cannot dock there, but there were four accessible harbors.

A more poetic description is given by traveler Daniel King:

> this island abounds in Springs of water and Rivolets. The soyl is fertile, with Mountains. The air is quick and healthfull, frost short and seldome; Snow in the Valleys, by reason of its

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[1]Raphael Holinshed, Chronicles (London: Richard Taylor & Co., 1807), pp. 67-68.

[2]Daniel King, The Vale-royall (London: John Staeter, 1656), p. 1.

[3]William Camden, "Camden's Britannia," in The Old Historians of the Isle of Man, William Harrison, editor (Douglas, Isle of Man: Manx Society, 1871), p. 5.

> Vicinity to the Sea, will soon dissolve; and subject it is to extraordinary high Winds.[4]

The island had four important cities, Castletown (Rushen), the metropolis of the isle, Ramsey, Peel, and Douglas. Each was located near the sea and had its own harbor, castle, and sconce (blockhouse).[5] The main city was on a small islet where the bishopric of Sodor was located. The town with the most numerous population was Douglas.[6] Maps of the island are shown on pages five and six; the reader will notice the enormous discrepancy between them.

The first inhabitants of Man, the Britons, came from the Hebrides and the Highlands of Scotland. Then the Scots and Picts settled in 400; the Welsh came, followed by the Norwegians.[7] The Isle of Man was conquered in 1333 by William Ontacute, the Earl of Salisbury, and for this deed King Edward I granted him the title King of Man. In 1399 Henry IV

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[4]King, pp. 2-4.

[5]Bishop Gibson in "Camden's Britannia," p. 16.

[6]Camden, p. 5.

[7]Holinshed, p. 68.

presented the island to the Earl of Northumberland.[8] Later when Northumberland rebelled against him, King Henry took back his present, giving it to Sir John Stanley in 1403.[9] This event will be crucial in the title dispute over the Isle of Man in 1595 in the following chapter.

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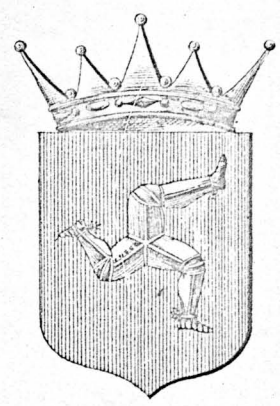
[8]Sir Richard Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England (London: Ludgate-Hill, B. Tooke, 1684), pp. 117, 157.

[9]James Chaloner, A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, Joseph B. Cummings, Editor (Doublas: Manx Society, 1864), p. 28.

MAP OF THE ISLE OF MAN IN 1595.

Septentrio.



MARE

HIBERNI

CVM

Occiden.

Orien.

The poynt of Ayre
Cranston
Kirk Bridge
Shellack Poynt
Vark
Lough
Milar Lough
Ivorby Poynte
Kirk Patriark
Kirk Christ
Selbemouth
Baia Lough
Ramsy Towne
Ramsy Hauen
Kirk Maghhardes Heade
Kirk Maghgarde
Kirk Michell
Corte
Whetston
Snafald
Glan Cam
Egnes
Laxi Baye
Laxi Poynt
Glan Brou
Laxi Towne
Peel Towne
Kirk Lennon
Peell Castell
St. John's Chapel
Kirk Patrik of the peel
Kirk Onkon
Kirk Mortown
Douglas Towne
Douglas Hauen
Douglas Poynt
Kirk Brodon
The Nunry
Dauby Poynt
Dauby Pill
Watch Hill
Kirk Kerebrey
Friry Bownaken
Balisaly Towne
Kirk Santon
Skathrons Chap
Fleshik
Balisaly Abbey
Kirk Mali
Balicaken
Ramsway
S. Mighils Is.d
Kirk Christ
Min Hugh
Portwick
Caltregh
Baladoul
Castletowne Baye
Port Earn
Chappel
Scarthlet
The pount Lange Nouse
Portell Morrey
The Stack
The Mull Hills
Spaloret
The Calfe of Man

MONA

Meridies.

First Engraven by Thomas Durham, 1595, for Speed's History of Great Britain.
Copied from Blean's Atlas published at Amsterdam in 1658, for Mr Train by his friend Wm Debie.
Published by M. A. Cuggia, 52 North Quay, Douglas.

Mona Cæsaris,
— vel —
Insula Manniæ.

(facies Antiqua.)

Johannes G. Oliverius Descripsit.
Gulielmus T. Bell Excudit.

1861.

Land washed away by the Sea.
New formed Land.
Abbey Lands.
Stone Circles.

MARE HIBERNICUM

Supposed ancient boundary of coast.

EYRI
Cranston
Ste Brigide Eccl.
P. STE BRIGIDE
SHELLACK PR.
JÒRABÝR PR.
SINUS
Portus
St Andree Eccl. V.
P. ST ANDREE
Myras Kagr
Ecclesia de Sancto Michaele
P. de BALLALOUGH
Ecclesia Sancti Michaelis de Balla Lough
Ecclesia Christi de Lezayre
P. ST de LEZAYRE
TRINITATIS
RAMSAA VEL HRAFNSA
ST MACHUTI PR.
St Machuti Eccl.
P. ST MACHUTI
Kornâ
RYNKURLYN PR.
St Lonani Eccl.
P. ST LONANI
Portus
SINUS
St Conchan Eccl.
P. ST CONCHANI
SINUS
Æst
Suðr vik
St Santan Eccl.
P. ST SANTANI
St Ninian Eccl.
P. ST NINIANI
St Patricii Eccl.
P. ST PATRICII
St PATRICII I. (Holm) (vel Suðrøe)
St Germani Eccl.
P. ST GERMANI
St Columbi Eccl.
P. ST COLUMBI
St Michaelis Eccl.
P. ST MICHAELIS
St Christi de Russin Eccl.
P. CHRISTI de RUSSIN
St Marie Eccl.
P. ST MARIE
POYLL VAASE
SINUS
SCARLET PR.
LANGNÆS
Kalf Øe
DALBÝR PR.
NIARBYL PR.
Flesk vik
BRADA VIK
Raguldsvad
St Mich. Arch. Eccl.
Eggjafiell
Glion Reite
Laxá
Fors
Sneafjell
Sartyl Fjell
Beinn y Phott
Slieau Whallin
Ugh Lagh Greeshy
Greba Mons
Balla L.
Neb R.
Lhane Mooar
Baltic Lough
Kyn Lhaim
Glion Mota R.
Glion Mooar R.
Glion Lhaa R.
Glion Lhaa
Glion Mooar
Glion Mota
Glion Lhaa
Glion Mooar
Glion Mota
Glion Lhaa
Glion Mooar
Glion Mota

I. MANX RULERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The first lord to rule the Isle of Man during Elizabeth I's reign was Edward Stanley, the Earl of Derby (1521-1572). His family had enormous wealth and influence at this time and later. In 1533 he had become Lord of Man, but since he was only eleven years old, Cardinal Wolsey made him a ward.[1] The isle was ruled by his guardians, and later, after he had reached maturity, Stanley ruled the island himself. He was a Knight of the Garter who held positions of the highest honor and trust under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. Sir Edward became a member of the Privy Council in 1559.[2]

Although he never visited Man, Sir Edward was interested in the island, ameliorating various complaints which the Manx had against their Church. In 1561 he selected five commissioners to study and to determine the salaries of various officials in

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[1]William Cubbon, Island Heritage (Manchester: George Falkner & Sons Ltd., 1952), p. 183.

[2]John Parr, An Abstract of the Laws, Customs, and Ordinances of the Isle of Man (Douglas: Manx Society, 1867), p. 34.

Man as well as the total value of fines owed to the ruler for breaking his laws.[3] When Edward Stanley died in 1572, he was waked for almost two months at Latham, the Stanley family estate in Lancashire, England. During that period arrangements were made for the great splendor and ceremony which was to be shown at his funeral: Queen Elizabeth said that Sir Edward had surpassed almost every English noble by the display of wealth and pomp at his Latham home.[4]

While Edward Stanley remained in England, a governor, Sir Henry Stanley, officiated for him from 1552 to 1562. Sir Henry succeeded his father in 1572 as the fourth Earl of Derby and the Seventh Lord of Man. Queen Elizabeth had previously dubbed him a Knight of the Garter in gratitude for services to her. Henry Stanley had led a commission to Flanders to make peace with the Prince of Parma, the representative for Philip II of Spain. Later Sir Henry bestowed the Order of the

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[3]G. Jefferson, editor, Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man (Douglas: Manx Advertiser, 1819), pp. 38-45.

[4]John Seacome, The History of the House of Stanley (Preston, England: E. Sargeaunt, 1793), pp. 130, 135).

Garter on the French king, Charles IX, at Elizabeth's command. In 1564 Stanley joined her when she visited Cambridge University, and two years later when they both visited Oxford University, he received an honorary master's degree. Sir Henry became a peer in 1573; later he was the only judge in the treason trial of Philip, the Earl of Arundel.

During the period that Sir Henry was Lord of Man, Sir Thomas Stanley was governor of the island, and William Stanley was captain-general of the Manx army.[5] Unlike most of his predecessors, Sir Henry visited Man. On his first trip, in 1577, he officiated at the common law court held that May and at a Tynwald Court held at St. John's Chapel in July, when the bishop rendered homage for his barony. On another visit, in 1585, Sir Henry also presided at a Tynwald Court and issued several decrees, just as he had done on his first visit. These decrees will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Because his laws further centralized the Manx government, more fines had to be paid for disregarding the Manx officials--from the governor to the attorney general. In 1588 Sir Henry returned

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[5]Ibid., p. 159.

to Man to subdue the excesses of his officials and to restore the morale of his people, and soon afterwards he was selected Lord Chamberlain of Chester.[6] The death of Sir Henry in 1595 ended his illustrious career.

Later that year Ferdinand Stanley followed his father, Sir Henry, with all of Sir Henry's titles. Ferdinand, himself a poet, was associated with several English poets, and he employed a group of actors which included William Shakespeare.[7] But Ferdinand's promising career as a poet ended in 1595 either from poison given to him by the master of the house or by witchcraft, an account being disclosed that a wax image with hair the same color as his on different parts of it was discovered in Ferdinand's room soon after his death.[8] Since Sir Ferdinand ruled Man for less than a year, he probably never visited the island. In default of a son he willed his entailed estates to his brother, William Stanley, who had been away from

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[6]Parr, pp. 34-35.

[7]Cubbon, pp. 187-188.

[8]Baker, p. 383.

England for so long that people believed him to be dead. Sir Ferdinand left three underaged daughters: Anne, thirteen, Frances, eleven, and Elizabeth, seven.[9] To these he bequeathed his land under the guardianship of four bishops and four temporal lords in place of William Stanley.

When William Stanley came home from the Isle of Man he discovered himself both unanticipated and unwanted. He was forced to prove his identity, but he had to fight for his inheritance against many strong competitors. However, Sir William was remembered by some of the long-time occupants of the estates of Dalton, Newburgh, and Latham, who acknowledged him to be the rightful heir, and who gave him funds to contest his rights. From the start the struggle was seen to be a lengthy one; as a result the Manx government became quite chaotic.[10] However, since William Stanley had been captain-general of the Isle of Man a year after his brother Ferdinand's death, the account that William Stanley's opponents gave of his absence was false. And when Ferdinand Stanley had assigned

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[9]Seacome, p. 166.

[10]Ibid., p. 169.

his daughters' estates to the direction of so many agents, he did this to reserve the Isle of Man for them, not for Sir William.

While the two groups were fighting over the title to Man in court, a startling question came up as to the genuineness of the original gift of the island to the Stanley family. In 1399, after Henry IV had given Man to the Earl of Northumberland, King Henry took back the grant after the Earl had rebelled against him and had presented it to John Stanley, first for a year, and then until Sir John died. Yet after Northumberland had been killed in his rebellion, his titles were neither attainted by Parliament nor were his estates seized. Thus King Henry's gift to John Stanley in perpetuity was illegal, because it had been established on the first grant for a year, which was before Henry IV was lawfully qualified to give it.

Queen Elizabeth suspended the decision concerning Man in deference to the contesting parties, whose ancestors had often benefited the English kings. In order that equity might be given to both claimants, Elizabeth selected as arbiters William Cecil, her chief secretary, and other nobles who had

known the claimants equally well. Regretfully, the queen died before the final judgment was pronounced, and the contending parties had to take their case to the law courts at Westminster.[11]

While the legal battle over the Isle of Man was being fought, Alice, Countess of Derby, was dissatisfied with the revenues from the isle. So she provoked Elizabeth into sending a captain, Thomas Gerrard, to Man to investigate conditions there. However, since the island only brought £20 a year in rents to the captain, the cost to the queen for additional officials would have been more than it was worth. But the loss of Man would have tremendously disgraced the Stanleys besides disinheriting them. Thus Sir William Stanley and Lady Alice gave Gerrard authority to go to Man to obtain deeds for the isle. Before Gerrard returned to London with the evidence, he selected officials to rule Man temporarily.[12]

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[11] Ibid., p. 177.

[12] Mary A.E. Green, editor, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Elizabeth (London: Longmans, Brown, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), IV, 73. (Hereafter this series will be abbreviated as SPDE).

Soon afterwards Queen Elizabeth was forced to take over the Manx government in order to stop either the Scots or the Spaniards from taking advantage of the contested title to the isle and by landing troops there for an invasion of England.[13] Elizabeth sent Thomas Gerrard as the governor of Man to continue until the contested title dispute had been settled. Elizabeth wrote to the Manx bailiffs that Gerrard

> is to repair thither, and to consider the best means of defense, as the forts are but meanly provided with necessaries or soldiers, and you are to assist him therein. He will not disturb your civil government, nor seek to alter your usual constitutions.[14]

In addition, William Stanley sent arms and money for the defense of the island.[15]

In his will Sir Ferdinand Stanley had left all of his lands to his wife, the Countess Alice. William Stanley offered £19,000 for her estate. In the meantime Queen Elizabeth had the estate administered by guardians.[16] In 1599 she

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[13]Seacome, p. 177.

[14]SPDE, IV, 83.

[15]Ibid., p. 103.

[16]Ibid., p. 155.

referred the title dispute to the Lord Keeper, Sir John Egerton, to Sir John Popham, the Chief Justice of England, and to other lords of the Council. After hearing counsel on both sides, the judges made their ruling. First, that the Isle of Man was an ancient kingdom by itself and not a part of England. Second, English laws were enforced on Man by a special act of Parliament. Third, the English king could confiscate the island if there were treason to him. Fourth, the king could give the Isle of Man to another person, namely to Lord John Stanley and his heirs. Fifth, King Henry could not give Man to Stanley since Henry did not possess any power to make the grant before the actual attainder of Northumberland. But by common law Henry as King of England could grant the isle to John Stanley by letters patent under the Great Seal of England. According to English common law Stanley's rights would descend to his general heirs, not just to his male heirs.[17]

The title to the Isle of Man changed hands rapidly within the next few years. In 1607 James I confirmed the

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[17]Francis Egerton, The Egerton Papers (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1840), J. Payne Collier, editor; pp. 281-282.

claim of William Stanley to the island.[18] Later Sir John Popham and some other judges obtained the Privy Council's advice on the claims of William Stanley and those of Sir John Egerton and Lord Chandos. Egerton, Chandos, and Popham married the three daughters of Sir Ferdinand Stanley and the Privy Council was to confirm the decision made in their favor by Elizabeth for ownership of Man.[19] But because James I was unfriendly to William Stanley he granted the Isle of Man to the Earl of Northampton and the Earl of Salisbury, the Lord High Treasurer.[20] In 1608 Salisbury delayed the final decision concerning ownership of the Isle of Man.[21]

But the next year a court gave the Manx title to Lord Ferdinand Stanley's three daughters. Since their husbands did not wish to live on the island, the daughters made a bargain

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[18]John R. Oliver, Monumenta de Insula Manniae (Douglas: Manx Society, 1892), III, 89.

[19]Mary A.E. Green, editor, Calendar of State Papers, James I, Domestic Series (London: Longman & Co., 1858), VIII, 359. In this thesis these books will be abbreviated as SPJ.

[20]Oliver, p. 88.

[21]SPJ, VIII, 465.

in which they gave Sir William their title to Man.[22] In 1610 James I promised to respect the rights of anyone who had a claim to property on the Isle of Man.[23] Later he took back the island, and again gave it to Salisbury and Suffolk with a twenty-one year lease for a yearly rent of 20s.[24] Finally Lord William Stanley obtained a new grant from James I, and a private Act of Parliament granted the isle to Sir William and his heirs perpetually.[25]

After the new grant Sir William resumed his right of nominating governors. In 1612 William Stanley reestablished control of administration for his family.[26] Since Sir William himself did not bother with the domestic policies of Man, he gave his countess Elizabeth the administration of the island. She appointed governors to rule Man until her death in 1637.[27] Later that year Sir William, wishing to leave the burdens of

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[22]Oliver, pp. 99-108.

[23]Ibid., p. 121.

[24]Mark Anthony Mills, Ancient Ordinances and Statute Laws (Douglas: Phoenix Press, 1821), p. 528.

[25]Oliver, pp. 109-113.

[26]Jefferson, p. 100.

[27]Oliver, p. 128.

government service, gave his son James his entire estate including the Isle of Man, keeping for himself the sum of £1000 a year. Then William Stanley retired to Chester, where he died in 1642.[28]

The reader might wonder why there was such a struggle for a comparatively obscure island. From a political and an economic viewpoint it is very difficult to justify the conflict. But it must be remembered that the Stanley family would have been greatly disgraced if they had lost their title to the Isle of Man--this is why they were so anxious to retain it. The same energy would have been expended on land in England if there were any doubt as to the validity of its title.

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[28]Seacome, p. 74.

II. MANX RULERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In 1627 the government of Man was partially controlled by James Stanley, Lord Strange, who was only twenty-one at the time; he became the Seventh Earl of Derby in 1642. His reign was the most important of any of the Stanleys, and he was called the Great Stanley.[1] He came to Parliament in 1627 with the title of Sir James Stanley, Knight of the Bath and Chevalier de Strange, and sat in the House of Lords even though his father William Stanley was not dead.[2] Even though Sir William did not completely give the Manx government to his son Sir James until 1637, James Stanley, as lord-superior of Man, verified a law issued by the Tynwald in 1629. Seven years later he considered himself "Sovereign Liege Lord of the Island" when he issued various laws.[3] He did not assume the

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[1]Earl of Clarendon (Edward Hyde), History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1849), II, 363; V, 212.

[2]Journal of the House of Lords, 1627 cited by Joseph Train, The Isle of Man (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1845), I, 187.

[3]Jefferson, pp. 102-110.

title King of Man because he thought that it might offend the King of England.[4]

James Stanley first came to the Isle of Man in 1628 to direct the government personally, and he set a new precedent by selecting a Manxman, Edward Christian of Maughold, as his governor and captain-general. Since Christian had already made his fortune as an adventurer in the West Indies, he agreed to serve Stanley for little pay. Sir James described Christian in this way:

> He is excellent, good company, rude as a sea captain, but refined as one that had civilized himself half a year at Court, where he served the Duke of Buckingham.[5]

In 1633 Christian refused a petition of Stanley's commissioners to reimburse a child for property that the former had kept from him.[6] Consequently the High Court of Admiralty in England asked James Stanley to have Christian come to them in Whitehall to answer the charges. Stanley sent John Caser, his servant,

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[4]William Mackenzie, editor, Legislation by Three of the Thirteen Stanleys (Douglas: Manx Society, 1860), p. 38.

[5]Mackenzie, p. 39.

[6]Ibid., pp. 40, 50.

to the Isle of Man to notify Christian but that Manx official was too ill to travel to England.[7] Sir James then decided that Christian must reimburse the child or be punished.[8] In 1635 the former removed Christian from his position as governor for another cause, excessive demands for a larger salary.[9]

In 1640 Stanley selected Captain Greenhalgh as governor because he had sufficient property of his own, and did not need to steal from Stanley's estate. Greenhalgh had honestly and successfully served as a deputy-lieutenant and as a justice of the peace in England. In addition, he had proved himself to be a competent administrator for his own estate. And as part of his advice to the new governor, the Lord James told Greenhalgh that when a mob was going to cause trouble, it was foolish for him to try to stop them without adequate support. Rather he should delay their complaints, permitting the crowd to think that he would grant their wishes. By the time of

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[7]John Bruce, editor, Calendar of the State Papers, Charles I, Domestic Series (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1863), VI, 410, 516.

[8]Mackenzie, p. 50.

[9]Ibid., pp. 40-41.

the next conference the governor may have secretly won the mob's leaders either by promises or bribes. Governor Greenhalgh followed this advice during the disturbances in 1643 on the Isle of Man.[10]

When the Civil War began, the rebellion in England was repeated on a diminutive scale in Man. In 1642 Stanley believed that the Civil War should not have been waged against Charles I because he considered him to be one of the best kings who had ever ruled England in Sir James' thinking. The king did not want war but his subjects did, the Earl of Strafford had been wrongfully executed, and some of the king's children had been taken prisoner. In addition, Stanley believed that by their rebellous actions the people were being disrespectful to the king and to God.

James Stanley selected 3,000 troops to support Charles I and went with them to York. When he arrived, Charles I told him of a Scotch plan to invade the Isle of Man through a group of Manx conspirators. Instead of taking action, Sir James helped protect the royal family at Oxford. But new messages

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[10] Ibid., pp. 16-19.

came to him that the Manxmen had freed some of those imprisoned by Greenhalgh and had asked invaders to come in. Finally when Stanley's vessel that was to guard the Isle of Man had been captured by Parliamentary ships, Queen Henrietta Maria allowed him to return to his island.

When he arrived on the isle it was in a state of chaos.[11] Edward Christian had been reinstated as leader of the Manx army and he had established an army base at Lhen Iurby and threatened the Tynwald court during one session.[12] Governor Greenhalgh had sought to scare the disturbers by incarcerating one of them, but he feared that if he did this, the crowd probably would have freed the disturber. But when Greenhalgh adjourned the court,[13] the mob responded that they wanted immediate action taken in their grievances against the Manx clergy.[14] Then Greenhalgh asked the people to write their complaints, promising to remedy the just ones. He would then

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[11] Ibid., pp. 10-13.

[12] R. H. Kinvig, A History of the Isle of Man (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1950), p. 95.

[13] Mackenzie, pp. 14-15.

[14] Kinvig, p. 95.

give a list of the other complaints to Stanley to examine. This appeased the people for the moment and they disbanded, and then Greenhalgh informed Stanley of this situation.[15]

Finally Sir James came to Man in 1643 with many friends and servants and he selected a Tynwald at Rushen Castle to listen to complaints. On that day he came in great state, with his chief government officials, and English cavalry to protect him. Previously Stanley had heard that some people would try to trick him, and he flattered the crowd at the court thus splitting them into factions. At another Tynwald at Rushen the tenants presented their grievances peacefully and left. At a third conference, this time at Peeltown, Stanley again brought a strong bodyguard.[16] The only councillors whom Greenhalgh had chosen to attend this conference were those who supported Stanley.[17] But Edward Christian and other agitators also attended this turbulent session.

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[15]Mackenzie, p. 15.

[16]Ibid., pp. 25-28.

[17]Train, I, 196.

First, the parish officials met; then Stanley called his officers, the twenty-four Keys (judges) and four representatives from each parish to help him adjust the grievances.[18] Stanley patiently listened while the most capable speakers among the tenants argued profusely with him in the Manx language. But his conspirators intimidated a few of them, and some of Christian's conspirators hid among the tenants and agitated them. After most complaints were settled[19] the officials agreed to allow Stanley himself to ameliorate the complaints.[20] But when Christian rose to discuss some additional grievances, Stanley ruled him out of order and dissolved the Tynwald immediately. Previously Stanley had warned against this, and Christian was arrested for treason. Since this coup d'etat in favor of the Roundheads had failed, Christian was given life imprisonment in Peel Castle.[21]

During the time that Christian was in prison, Stanley

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[18]Kinvig, p. 96.

[19]A fuller description of them will be given in Chapter Five.

[20]Mackenzie, pp. 29-30, 33.

[21]Kinvig, pp. 96-97.

tried to have him punished severely, but the Keys stated that this would be illegal. Sir James intended to change the law. From prison, Christian stated that because he had suffered for the tenants, a jury should acquit him. But he was unsuccessful,[22] and he remained in prison until 1651, when Parliament's army invaded Man and then freed him. Later Christian conspired against Governor Chaloner and in 1659 was imprisoned in Peel, where he died in 1661.[23]

The Isle of Man was involved in the English Civil War because James Stanley headed an important noble family which considered it a point of honor to help Charles I.[24] But most of the Manxmen supported Parliament because of their complaints against the Manx government. This dissatisfaction was to climax in the revolt of William Christian, a deed for which he was executed in 1663. After the Tynwald settlement, Stanley was able to concentrate more on enlarging his army and increasing the Manx fortifications. The weight of the additional

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[22]McKenzie, pp. 52-53.

[23]Kinvig, p. 97.

[24]Seacome, p. 79.

military and naval expenses oppressed the tenants, who became unhappier as the days passed. This attitude was probably intensified by the defeat of the Royalists.[25]

After Stanley had returned to England, the Roundheads destroyed Latham House in 1644, and he escaped to the Isle of Man. Colonel Birch, the governor of Liverpool, arrested six of his children. Parliament asked Stanley to surrender the island; in return his children would be freed and he could come back to England for half of his property. After Stanley refused, he asked Fairfax to free his children as a matter of honor and send them either to him or to their relatives in Holland or France.[26] In 1649, after the death of Charles I, Parliament gave another offer to Stanley that he would receive all of his English property if he would give the Isle of Man to Parliament; again he refused.

In 1651 Stanley joined the Royalists when they tried to obtain the English throne for Charles II.[27] The Manxmen gave £500 to the Royalists, a sum which probably included most

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[25]Kinvig, pp. 94-97.

[26]Seacome, p. 296.

[27]Mackenzie, pp. 58-61.

of the circulating specie on the Isle of Man.[28] As a reward for his support, Charles II bestowed the Order of the Garter on Stanley. Later Stanley left Man with 200 infantry to help Charles in Lancashire. When the Earl's tiny Manx army was defeated at Wigan by a much larger Parliamentary force, he himself escaped but was later captured at Worcester.[29] Then Oliver Cromwell sent a commission for a court martial for Stanley's trial. The Council of State gave evidence to employ against him. Despite the fact that he had been assured safe conduct by his jailors, the Council would not save him.[30] He was indicted for having supported Charles II against Parliament, for having armed his estate at Latham, and for controlling the Isle of Man without the consent of the House of Commons.[31] Stanley eloquently tried to defend himself, but he was sentenced to death and beheaded at Bolton.[32]

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[28]Train, I, 201.

[29]Clarendon, V, 206, 210.

[30]Mary A.E. Green, editor, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Commonwealth (London: Longman & Co., 1876), III, 427, 454, 457. Henceforth these works will be abbreviated as SPC.

[31]Clarendon, II, 367-368.

[32]Seacome, p. 319.

Before Sir James made his last trip to England in 1651, he had given to his Countess Charlotte the control of Man.[33] William Christian, one of her chief officials, was receiver of the revenues and the major-general of the island. This Christian, or Illiam Dhoen (brown-haired) William, as his fellow citizens named him, was remotely related to Edward Christian. Although other men were in charge of the Manx castles, William Christian drilled the Manx troops, an unpaid militia. After word had arrived of Stanley's fate, the Manxmen attempted to have their complaints concerning land leases and the billeting of soldiers satisfied. About eight hundred of them, along with the most prominent members of the different parishes, gathered at William Christian's home at Ronaldsway and vowed to oppose Charlotte Stanley until she answered their grievances.[34] Someone had informed them that she had betrayed them to Colonel Francis Duckenfield, the leader of the army which Parliament had commissioned to conquer the isle.[35]

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[33]Clarendon, V, 211-212.

[34]Kinvig, pp. 98-99.

[35]SPC, III, 448, 454.

Meanwhile Christian and the militia had seized every fort except those at Peel and Rushen, and had written to Duckenfield promising to relinquish the island if the Manxmen could retain their old liberties. When Duckenfield landed on the Isle of Man,[36] he dispatched part of his troops to capture Peel, while he attacked Rushen Castle. Countess Charlotte yielded on the promise that the defenders would not be killed and that she and her family would be allowed to leave for England to negotiate with Parliament.[37] to live in Peel Castle. But instead she was imprisoned in Rushen Castle until the Restoration.[38]

Later the Committee of Examination published a list of grievances against James Stanley given to them by William Christian.[39] Thus Christian again betrayed Charlotte Stanley. Yet he still believed that he was more indebted to the Manxmen

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[36]Allan B. Hinds, Calendar of State Papers, Venetian (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927), XXVIII, 205.

[37]Seacome, p. 382.

[38]Train, I, 207.

[39]SPC, IV, 28.

and that if Lady Stanley had been permitted to fight, Man would have been brutally decimated and its old freedoms revoked. Simultaneously, Christian and his conspirators had attempted to retain the former title to their farms, but they were soon to be frustrated because the Commonwealth government did not allow them to retain their titles.[40] Then Parliament gave the Isle of Man to Lord Thomas Fairfax, who appointed governors to rule for him until the restoration of the Derbys in 1660.[41] In 1652 this transition of rulers occurred without a rebellion since the inhabitants, because they had been ruled by their old constitution, were not concerned who the ruler was.

Various administrative problems had to be dealt with during the first years of the new Manx government. Commissioner Chaloner investigated William Christian[42] because he had become so indebted to the Exchequer. Chaloner sequestrated his property and jailed William Christian's brother John for helping him to flee from the Isle of Man.[43] In 1653 the Council

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[40]Kinvig, p. 100.

[41]Camden, II, 1443.

[42]Oliver, p. 149.

[43]Train, I, 208.

of State wrote to Fairfax asking him to protect and govern the island well and to educate its natives.[44] At this time the entire isle was in a state of depression.[45] Then the Council sent information of Manx conditions to the Scotch and Irish Committee for them to discuss with Chaloner and listen to observers from Man in order to solve problems of administration and defense. A governor was sent to the Isle of Man to make the Manx customs, laws, and language like those in England.[46]

The Council of State considered several other problems arising out of the disruption that the Civil War had brought to Man. One dilemma concerned both the seizure and the transfer of property by the Roundheads and proper restitution to its former owners. A petition to the Council from Margaret Colcot, a Manx widow, regarding property was sent to the Irish and Scotch Committee for discussion. Lord Fairfax was to decide the case.[47] Then Captain Edward Christian petitioned Colonel

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[44]SPC, V, 82.

[45]Camden, II, 1443.

[46]SPC, V, 126, 141.

[47]Ibid., pp. 155, 369.

Duckenfield, Commander-in-Chief of the Isle of Man, to restore some property to Christian.[48]

Lord Fairfax chose Thomas Cadwell as governor for the Isle of Man; it was decided that the salaries of the governor, soldiers, and officers would be supplemented, since the £500 given by the English government was insufficient.[49] Later Major Wades was appointed governor with civil and military authority; as governor he received 10s. each day in addition to his salary as captain of the Manx regiment. All incompetent civil and military officers were to be replaced by appointees of the governor. If the pay of civil officials were inadequate for their duties, the governor could select a military officer to help the civil official with his job. Fairfax, however, was to be notified of these changes.[50]

The most famous of the governors sent to Man by Lord Fairfax was James Chaloner, the author of a brief but excellent history of the island. He only had civil, not military,

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[48] Ibid., p. 241.

[49] SPC, VI, 409, 451.

[50] Ibid., pp. 66, 74.

authority on the island.[51] While in office, Chaloner controlled the Manx Church because the bishop had been removed; he employed part of the bishop's revenues to establish schools in four Manx towns. As has been mentioned before, in 1659 William Christian fled Man to his home in Lancashire. Soon the army rebelled against Parliament, and the general of Peel Castle jailed Chaloner; Edward Christian and William Christian then returned to join the rebels. Parliament now resumed control over the island and freed Chaloner, who died soon after the restoration of the Stanleys and of Charles II in 1660.[52]

In conclusion, James Stanley had competently supervised the government of Man. In spite of tremendous obstacles he had supported the monarchy and had fearlessly died for it.[53] Sir James himself was brilliant but greedy. Like Charles I, he had been overbearing and deceitful to his enemies. Stanley's land statutes were despised, yet he

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[51]SPC, X, 135.

[52]Kinvig, p. 100.

[53]Clarendon, V, 211-212.

enforced them as did many other English nobles at that time. He believed that when the Manxmen acknowledged his authority both as their lord and landlord, he would do anything for their well-being such as equalizing Church taxes. Because of his devotion to the monarch the Isle of Man incurred hardships and great peril for a cause that was not really its own.[54] But after Parliament had conquered the island, life there under the Commonwealth continued relatively unchanged. Although Lord Fairfax held the sovereignty of the island, he was indifferent to Man since he never visited it. Like the Stanleys, he appointed governors, the most distinguished one being James Chaloner.

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[54]Kinvig, p. 98.

III. MANX SOCIETY

Most of what we know about the people of the Isle of Man has been due to a study of the laws which regulated them. The Manx originally received their laws from the Scots.[1] Sir John Stanley II (1414-1432) had the Manx laws written down for the first time; consequently, the methodical recording of Manx history became possible. But his project was not too complete because in 1637 James Stanley asked the deemsters to write down the laws since too many of them were just reciting it from memory in the law courts. He issued rules for recording the statutes on nine sheets of paper. Spaces were allowed for future laws to be compiled by the controller.[2] Sir John Stanley II also minimized the Church's power. He reestablished the ancient Manx constitution which had included the keys and the council of twenty-four freeholders. Furthermore,

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[1]Holinshed, p. 68.

[2]Jefferson, pp. 110-117.

Sir John ruled that the lord could veto the selection of any Key in order to control the Keys.[3] A jury trial was included in his reforms.

The structure and officials of the government on the Isle of Man was essentially medieval. Five chief Manx officials comprised Stanley's Privy Council:[4] the lieutenant or governor of the isle, the two deemsters, the controller, and the receiver-general. Other minor officials were the twenty-four keys, a water bailiff, the lord's attorney-general, the coroners, and the moors.

Throughout the isle the deemsters served as justices of the peace; if they witnessed or heard of any crime, they were to report the suspect in the lord's name to the controllers or clerk of the roll's office. If this were not done, or if adequate bail or a warrant were not issued by the controllers to the deemsters, they could bring the suspect to the coroner, who would then take him to jail. The suspect could also be kept at the forts of Douglas, Rushen, or Peel until

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[3]Chaloner, p. 29.

[4]Gibson, p. 27.

the governor settled the matter. The other Manx officials had the same power as the deemster in this case, and the coroner, who was the sheriff, and the lockman, his deputy, could send the prisoners back to the controller's office or to the office of any of the other officials. The deemsters could replace juries. In addition, the deemsters could provide the richer tenants with servants from the poorer tenants if grave need arose or if unemployed servants were not available. The coroners and the moors also had this power. And finally, the deemster collected the tithes of corn or oats (bridge and staff) for the parsons and vicars.

The controller's job was to obtain a quarterly account from the receiver-general and to record and pay out the funds that the receiver-general took from the moors. Furthermore, in Mid-summer the governor gave the controller the book of rates for "ingates" and "outgates" of goods (imports and exports). The controller also was the clerk of the market who regulated weights and measures and the assize on bread and ale. He also supervised customs duties in the seaports.

The receiver-general served as the clerk of the rolls who codified the laws by writing down all of the court pro-

ceedings. Before this, the law had been memorized by the deemsters and the keys. In addition, the receiver-general both collected from subordinate officials the rents owed to Stanley, and he also could imprison the bailiffs or moors for not collecting the rents on time. If this happened, the moors could request a constable to order a soldier to make the tenants pay.

The water-bailiff regulated the herring fishing. He also confiscated and sold abandoned ships for Derby and recorded the proceeds. He and his subordinate officials, the customers of the ports of Ramsey, Douglas, Derbyhaven, and Peel collected and recorded the customs for imports and exports. Since the water-bailiff was also the admiral of the island, he held an admiralty court with judges and a jury; the procedure by which they decided naval controversies was an admiral-quest. The water-bailiff also issued and received customs reports and certified them for traders.

The attorney-general was the legal advocate for Stanley's Manx interests, and the advocate for children and widows. This official also witnessed fines and forfeitures to the lord in the clerk's court, the abbey court, the court of debts, the exchequer court, and the chancery court, all of

which followed common law. Besides this, the attorney-general regulated all waifs and strays, felons' goods, deodands (property of the deceased which went to the crown for charitable uses), and shipwrecks, which belonged to the lord by his prerogative.[5]

The coroners served as the sheriffs and were selected annually.[6] Since their job was very important, they each had three servants to help. In 1611 coroners were given land tax-free, but in 1636 this allowance was revoked and they were only "to have recompense allowed according to their endeavors."[7] That year James Stanley raised the salaries of the deemsters, moors, and coroners too.[8]

The lieutenant or governor consulted his officials for grievances, and if they neglected their offices or violated the law, he could report it to the lord. The governor could

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[5]Chaloner, pp. 47-51.

[6]Gibson, p. 37.

[7]Mills, pp. 87, 116.

[8]Jefferson, pp. 108-110.

imprison the officials if they committed a crime or if they had left the island without his approval. But the officials had the right to appeal to the lord against the governor.[9] They helped the lord in Manx affairs such as defence, legislation, and legal disputes and summoned the keys at least annually on Midsummer Day to the Tynwald Court.[10]

The Tynwald Court functioned in the following manner. All of the Manxmen gathered around a broad plain to listen to the statutes decided in St. John's Chapel. Then the Lord of Man, if he were present, sat in a chair of state covered with a royal cloth or canopy overhead facing east with his sword pointing up. His barons--the bishop, the abbots, and other persons with degrees--sat next to him. The gentry, the yeomen, and the keys sat in order; the commons stood outside the circle with three clerks in surplices. Then a deemster summoned the Coroner of Glanfaba, the most important coroner of the island, to fence court,that is, to prevent any trouble during the court session, with the penalty of hanging and drawing. He

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[9]Chaloner, p. 51.

[10]Gibson, p. 29.

called the other five coroners, and all of them on their knees delivered the rods of their offices to the lord. Then the lord summoned these coroners to bring him a rod. There the deemster gave them an oath in the Manx language to uphold their offices. After these ceremonies the governor officiated each year in place of the lord on Midsummer Day. If any laws were agreed to by the officials and the keys, they were shown to the lord; if he agreed to them, they were sent back and recorded. At the following Tynwald they were published.

The Manxmen could easily get a free trial by the following procedure: the governor twice each year, either a week or two weeks after May or after Michaelmas, could summon the court; the coroner and the moors (bailiffs) served summons at church after services. The following Sunday the courts were held for the coroners; anyone with a suit against a coroner went to the moor and asked him to summon his adversary to court. The moor called two or three parishioners present to witness this. On the day appointed by the governor, the deemsters went with him to the court either at Peel (Hollam town) or at the parishes of Kirkpatrick and Germane. These last two courts were called by the Coroner of Glanfaba. Other

courts were held by two coroners at Kirkmichael and Christleayr for two days each week.[11] This was the judicial procedure: each judge took a stone, signed it, and handed it to the plaintiff; then the defendant and the witnesses were summoned for court.[12]

The Isle of Man had its own laws and money, which characterized an independent kingdom,[13] because it was named Man, the inhabitants were called Manxmen, the people being related to the British or Welsh. Man also had its own language; most of the Manx words had originated from Greek or Latin, but some were English words that referred to foreign objects. More foreign words were added as the islanders had dealings with other people. Yet few Manxmen spoke English except the gentry. The Isle of Man was linguistically separated into two sections; the south in its everyday speech was similar to the English and that of the north was similar

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[11]Chaloner, pp. 30-32.

[12]Gibson, p. 37.

[13]Camden, p. 6.

to that of the Scotch.[14]

The laws of Man were written in the statute book; many of them were just records of ancient customs in the state and the Church, while others were decrees made by the ruler or his officials. Edward Stanley issued laws to control his officials to safeguard his income and rights; the tenants were either suppressed or ignored. The only constructive edicts his successor Henry Stanley issued were a law prohibiting the arbitrary incarceration of inhabitants, a statute governing inheritance, and a law for claiming debts.[15]

The entire attitude of the law proposed that the inhabitants, who were predominantly farmers and farm workers, artisans and fishermen existed for the ruler, not the ruler for the inhabitants.[16] Then too, most of the laws which Sir Henry issued had originated from the practices of the English manor system with its servitude, which were customs that conflicted with Manx practices. At the base of manorial usage

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[14]King, pp. 4-5.

[15]Gibson, p. 25.

[16]Kinvig, p. 90.

were the profit and the prerogative of the lord which Stanley retained despite some concession to Manx customs.[17] Some of these laws could be quite barbaric: in 1645 deceiving Stanley or his governor was treason. Anyone who spoke scandalously against a principal officer of the island or denounced his position was to be fined £10 and lose his ears.[18]

Yet fortunately for the inhabitants, Sir Henry spent most of his annual revenue from the island to pay for its administration.[19] The historian Holinshed falsely accused him of taking half of the annual income from the Manx bishopric. But the annual revenue of Man was only about £100 and from that sum the bishop had to pay for the repair of church buildings plus the salaries of the deemsters and other Manx officials; after that,the bishop would get the rest of the money.[20] The following is a list of the accounts for the

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[17]Cubbon, p. 187.

[18]Mackenzie, pp. 117-118.

[19]Camden, p. 6.

[20]Oliver, pp. 95-98.

island from 1588 to 1592. The revenues for the Peel and Rushen garrisons ranged from £837 to £1071 yearly; expenses varied from £744 to £832.[21] From 1595 to 1600 the annual income from customs, rents, sales, and other items ranged from £878 to £1048 a year; expenses ranged from £691 to £875.[22] Thus there was little profit for the lord from the isle.

During his administration Henry Stanley bore down on his subjects both economically and socially--even regulating their individual liberty. Foreigners could not live on Man unless they paid him a fee.[23] No tenant could depart from the island without a permit, and anyone who did leave would lose his property. The probable motive for this law was that tenants were hard to locate when help was required to repair Stanley's mansions and forts. Other harsh regulations were passed for the employment of farm workers.[24] But in 1613

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[21]SPDE, III, 302.

[22]SPDE, V, 518.

[23]John F. Jeffcote, editor, Statute Laws of the Isle of Man (Douglas: J. Quiggin Custom-House-Quay, 1837), pp. 5, 7.

[24]Kinvig, p. 90.

Countess Alice repealed the old statutes regulating herring fishing and visiting by foreigners; this signified a change of the provincial Manx attitudes towards foreigners.

James Stanley was the most prolific legislator in Manx history. However, in 1643 he had unwisely disturbed land titles. Tenure of the straw was a system by which the tenants transferred land to their descendents without the lord's permission and deceived him by paying him a small rent.[25] Since tenure of the straw was a widespread system on the island, Stanley tried to revoke it because he was losing money.[26] Sir James stated that he had found documents which showed that he had complete claim to all land on Man, based on the action of Goddard Crovan, who after he had conquered the island, subinfeudated it to his troops as tenants without giving them land titles. Thus the sovereignty which was given to John Stanley empowered James Stanley with the same privileges that previous rulers had; consequently, his absolute rights to the

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[25]Mills, p. 106.

[26]Mackenzie, pp. 47-48.

land were the same as those of Grovan.[27]

When word of this scheme circulated, the Manxmen were tremendously excited, but they took an offer that they would deliver their land on the promise of getting it back on a lease for twenty-one years or for three lives. Furthermore, they were tricked by a deemster who immediately surrendered his land but after the natives resigned their land to the lord, the Tynwald restored the deemster's land. He boldly admitted this to the natives.[28] The act of settlement of 1645 by James Stanley finally verified land which could be inherited by the tenants. Only the first buyer could sell his land, and the estate stayed in the possession of lawful heirs; land could not be sold to pay debts.[29]

Legislation for the Isle of Man continued to be issued by the government after the conquest by Parliament. In 1651 the Council of State decided that the island should become a

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[27]Ward's Ancient Records, pp. 17-18, cited in Train, I, 193.

[28]Mills, p. 106.

[29]Jefferson, pp. 127-130.

county of England, but would retain its old statutes if they were just and suitable. Deemster William Christian and his brother John, the receiver, were asked to come to the Council to give advice concerning Manx laws.[30] Lord Fairfax issued laws in 1655 concerning children, trespassers, yarding, juries of servants, and choice; yet after 1660 the Tynwald repealed the statutes as having been issued by an illegal government.[31]

Even though the Isle of Man had a high birth rate, it was sparsely settled. Before 1521 the island had more towns and people.[32] Then later, of 1300 Manx families, only 440 of them lived on the western half of the island.[33] In the towns the houses were similar--low-built, with thatch and shell lime and just two floors; the second-story rooms which the owners rented to foreigners had plaster ceilings. Castletown and Douglas had homes with three tiled floors. And only about six families, the gentry of Man, lived in two-story houses of stone.

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[30]SPC, IV, 22.

[31]Jefferson, pp. 140-141.

[32]Gibson, pp. 13, 15.

[33]Holinshed, p. 67.

These Manxmen who were wealthy and owned the more substantial farms[34] were very polite and friendly; in their manners, clothing, and domestic arts they copied the English gentry in Lancashire. The Manx gentry did not dwell in villages or towns but in mansions erected on their own rural estates which were usually tall, well-constructed homes like those of the English.[35] The most important and largest gentry family in Man were the Christians who had assumed positions of influence and had married into the most important and richest families.[36]

The tenants of the Isle of Man, the majority of its population, were tall, rude and arrogant. They lived in small cottages built of little rocks and clay which were often thatched with broom. These homes had only a single room, without a ceiling, in which the entire family dwelt; the crudest tenants had a cow in one corner of the room. But their destitution may be surmised from a law regarding their homes; it was a crime for anyone to go into a cottage or a house

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[34]Camden, p. 6.

[35]Gibson, pp. 16-17.

[36]Mackenzie, pp. 49-50.

without finding out whether the owners were at home. This statute was passed because the people's huts did not have any doors. The entrance was sometimes locked either by a package of shrubs, by two sticks, or by a threshing stick set across the doorway. Another law stated that coroners were prevented from seizing the only pan or pot of a tenant or a woman's Sunday blanket because these objects belonged to the next heir.[37]

However, despite their poverty the tenants were usually happy with their primitive housing and monotonous diet of salt, butter, herrings, and oatcakes. They drank wine, plain water, or water mixed with milk or buttermilk. The tenants more often than not slept on hay or straw. For entertainment most of them played the violin, though with little competence. They were intelligent and industrious.[38] The tenants were religious and extremely devoted to their ministers; the people attended church frequently, and they hated religious disputes. Their

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[37]Gibson, pp. 17, 20.

[38]King, p. 5.

customs imitated those of the Irish and the Norwegians;[39] some of these seem rather eccentric to us. For example, when the Manx women went outside they wore the sheet in which they were to be buried to remind themselves of death, and those women who had been sentenced to die for a crime were sewn inside a bag and thrown from a ledge into the sea.[40]

As far as social control was concerned, since the Manx government had an efficient administration and police control, the island had a low crime rate and property was protected.[41] Criminals were sent to the prison at Peel Castle where the English monarchs had often imprisoned prominent persons. Although robbery on the highways was rare, the tenants probably stole much from each other, as we may gather from the excessive punishments for taking a goose, a hen, or even eggs.[42] For example, "To take away a horse or an ox was only a trespass, but to steal a pig or a fowl was punishable by death."[43]

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[39]John Speed, "History of the Isle of Man," in The Old Historians of the Isle of Man, pp. 37-38.

[40]Camden, p. 7.

[41]Speed, p. 37.

[42]Gibson, p. 21

[43]Mills, p. 84.

Manx and Irish beggars were not numerous on the island; however, in their method of begging they were different: the Irish beggar would scream at the door; the Manx beggar would go into the house to sit by the fire until he was fed. To solve this problem, in 1588 Henry Stanley issued laws dealing with poor relief. "If a beggar of the Isle is found straggling, he is to be whipped to his own parish." Although he could beg money by ringing a bell, he could not carry a sack.[44]

In summary, even though most of the inhabitants of the Isle of Man were poor, there was a small gentry class which lived like its counterpart in England. However, the Manx language and customs were similar to those of the Scotch. Harsh laws were enforced for the benefit of the Lords of Man, not for the benefit of the Manxmen. But the Stanleys provided for the Manxmen's welfare if they obeyed them. Thus social conditions on the Isle of Man were undoubtedly hard, as we shall see further in the next chapter, from the economic regulation that the Stanleys imposed. But there is no record of any revolts against the Stanleys until 1643, the time of the Civil War in England.

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[44]Gibson, p. 21.

IV. THE MANX CORNUCOPIA

Before discussing the economy of the Isle of Man, it would be well to describe the island's natural resources and crops. The isle had a fertile, productive soil which enabled production of grapes, wheat, rye, corn, barley for exports, and oats for bread, the daily meal of the tenants. The most important livestock were small black sheep which were bred for hemp and flax; hogs, goats, horses, and poultry were numerous. Barnacles bred well there. Strange animals on Man included the puffin, which was a fowl, and cats which did not have any tails.[1] Forests were not plentiful on the island and the natives were frequently forced to dig oak trees that had been buried underneath the soil to use for fuel.[2] Besides this, from January 1626 to January 1627 Newcastle sent 2,288 chaldrons of coal to Man and Ireland for fuel.[3] Lead and limestone

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[1]Holinshed, pp. 68-69.

[2]Speed, p. 36.

[3]Bruce, II, 4.

were the two minerals that were mined on the island. Besides this, the Isle of Man carried on substantial trade, aided by its own currency, in cattle, wine, fish, and grain exports.[4]

No clear picture emerges from the sources about farming. In 1624 Governor Greenhalgh tried without success to persuade the people to use lime as fertilizer.[5] In 1651 James Stanley commanded with regard to agriculture:

> that the Clerk of the Garden is to be appointed in either of the said house, (Castles of Rushen and Peel,) by the receivers thereof, the same to be such as they will answer for.[6]

Farming methods on the Isle of Man were probably similar to those in England.

Extensive regulation of the economy by the Stanleys often hindered the island, and their main rights were due to them as landowners, not as rulers. In 1651 the captain of Peel Castle was commanded to select two tenants to watch certain pastures for Stanley; he also had the privilege of free transportation for his peat along with great privileges of

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[4]Camden, p. 6.

[5]Train, I, 239.

[6]Mills, p. 42.

lumber and hunting. His forest rights were stated in 1570 so that any farmer pasturing his sheep who forgot to shear them before June 11 forfeited the wool to the forester, and a year later could lose the sheep to Sir Henry.[7] At a Tynwald Court in 1583 he and his council decided "That no person killing a sheep sell the wool till after the flesh is eaten."[8] They also ruled that since eating salmon at certain times caused leprosy and other illnesses, no person could fish for salmon from September 8 to July 29. If someone killed a salmon under sixteen inches or a trout under eight inches his fishing equipment would be destroyed and he would be incarcerated.[9]

The Lords of Man also regulated foreign trade unnecessarily by their edicts, although an import or export tax with a fixed rate was not levied before 1577. Then a lengthy catalogue of the customs dues on imported articles was registered in a "book of rates." An account of these rates which was kept from

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[7]Jeffcote, pp. 5, 26.

[8]Statute Book, "Felons," Statute 1583, cited by Train, I, 173.

[9]Jeffcote, p. 116.

1578 to 1800 gives much knowledge concerning the Manx foreign trade.[10] In 1577 the tax on imported herring was only a shilling a ton, an insignificant fee; it was obviously levied to keep out Dutch fishermen from trading on the Isle of Man since they had organized large fishing establishments there.[11] In 1610 tenants and farmers on Man had to furnish nets to fish for herring which was[12] the chief export of the island, since 20,000 barrels were sent each year to France and other European countries.[13]

Douglas had the best accessible harbor on the Isle of Man. The French and others sailed there to purchase salt beef, leather, and coarse wool.[14] Four merchants were selected by the Tynwald and given an oath by the deemsters to bargain with foreign merchants. As soon as a foreign businessman arrived on Man, he had to display his wares to the deputy and give him

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[10]Cubbon, p. 184.

[11]Train, II, 287.

[12]Mills, p. 501.

[13]Train, II, 289.

[14]Camden, p. 5.

and Stanley's four officials the first selection of the goods. Then the officials had to summon four of the most prominent Manxmen, who had previously been chosen to negotiate, and if they did not select a suitable price or exchange, no further bargaining was permitted. Even though this absurd law was intended to preserve the tenants from deception, it actually created a monopoly for the Manx officials.[15] Another regulation stated that foreign businessmen who wished to trade permanently in Man had to pay 6s.8d.

A great part of Manx foreign commerce was in wine because the island's supply exceeded its own needs. In 1580 forty shipments of wine left the Isle of Man for Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain, and France. Since the customs on this wine and other articles were higher in England than in Man, English merchants smuggled these articles into England after they had purchased them from Manx merchants. The Manxmen thought nothing of smuggling, but their costs grew as the Lord of Man increased the customs. Yet most of the Manx officials

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[15]Chaloner, p. 53.

participated in this illegal wine trade and sent wine to their friends.[16] Further regulations which were frequently renewed show that in 1562 only 100 tons of French wine could be brought into Man by French vessels.[17] Obviously this law was ignored.

In 1593 farmers were permitted to export with a license from the governor only as much grain or corn annually as amounted to the annual rent due to Stanley.[18] Anyone who exported beef from Man was liable to the Grand Inquest; the coroner or jailor was ordered to impound this beef for Stanley.[19] A Tynwald convened in 1594 forbade marketing on Sunday.[20] Yet this law was ignored since it had to be repassed in 1610. In the market place oats, malt, and barley were vended by the heaped measure, but beans, butter, wheat, rye, and vetches (plants raised for their edible seeds) were sold by the stricken. Also, selling diseased pigs or bad malt was

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[16]Cubbon, pp. 184-186.

[17]Oliver, p. 52.

[18]Mills, p. 77.

[19]Jefferson, p. 68.

[20]Mills, pp. 63-64.

forbidden.[21] But trade with other countries still continued, and by the next year the Manx had sent food and other products two times each week to a market in Carrefargus, Ireland.[22]

On the Isle of Man products were probably brought to the markets by roads, but information about them is rather incomplete. Since there were few highwaymen, trade could not have been greatly hampered by them. In 1599 all secondary roads leading to the main highway had to be eighteen feet wide, but particular old roads going to the mill, church, or market were allowed. This law was reenacted in 1615.[23]

When James Stanley came to power in 1627 the Manx economy began to change. He helped Manx business to make the island prosperous for himself, to employ all of the people, and thus to reduce the number of beggars.[24] In 1636 he issued laws regarding taxes owed to him, the exportation of corn, and the

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[21]Statutes 1582, 1577, 1588, 1597, cited by Train, II, 283-284.

[22]J. S. Brewer and William Bullen, editors, Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts (London: Longman, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1868), II, 342.

[23]Train, II, 238.

[24]Mackenzie, p. 23.

procedure by which his revenues were to be collected. Another law required that new corn mills should be destroyed in favor of the old mills which the tenants had to repair.[25]

The Manx economy profited by the defeat of Charles I, for many Royalists escaped to the island with specie. Not all of these coins were good, and in 1646 some criminals counterfeited pewter ducketoons. The keys protested to Stanley and he stated that counterfeiters and their accomplices on Man had committed treason and could be hanged for it.[26] Then copper coins were minted on the island to supplant the worthless ones.

Other economic advances were made in the herring trade, which was regulated by the water-bailiff. Besides working on the shores of Man, fishermen sailed to England and Scotland to sell their wares to other nations and trading boats soon ignored the old prohibitions. The Manxmen were natural sailors and businessmen, but regretably they were shackled by many limitations enacted by the Manx ruler and by the rulers of

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[25]Mills, p. 89.

[26]Jefferson, p. 133.

other countries. Legal business with England was almost impossible because the Navigation Acts of 1651 stated that products could only be shipped into that nation by vessels constructed and sailed by Englishmen. Furthermore, the English tariff was prohibitive.[27]

Even by 1656 manufacturing was lacking on the Isle of Man. But the articles for export included wine, goat skins, sheepskin, corn, hides, and herring. The products imported were wool, iron, tar, pitch, salt, and wood. The gentry wanted spices and foreign wines. There were trading centers at Ramsey, Peeltown, Douglas, and Castletown.[28]

In conclusion, although agriculture was the chief occupation of most of the Manxmen, a prosperous and diverse foreign trade was carried on by Manx businessmen as well. The regulation of the Manx economy seems excessively severe to us today, but it must be remembered that conditions like this were similar in England, the rest of Europe, and especially in the Spanish American colonies.

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[27]Kinvig, p. 116.

[28]Chaloner, pp. 52-53.

V. RELIGION ON THE ISLE OF MAN

When the English obtained control of the Isle of Man the Manx bishopric was split in two: the see in Man kept the title Bishop of Man or Sodor; the other see was in Jona or St. Colum's Isle. Man belonged to the See of York; Jona, to that of Glasgow. The Lord of Man chose the bishop and legally verified the leases that the bishops issued. The lessees were the lord's principal barons, who like the bishops in England were assisted in church affairs by an archdeacon and a vicar-general.[1] The Archbishop of York consecrated the Manx bishop, since Man did not have a chapter for ecclesiastical elections.[2] The bishop of Man was not a member of the House of Lords. When Henry IV gave the island to John Stanley in 1403, the grant included the Manx bishopric and its benefices which were to be retained by the Stanleys through liege homage.[3] This continued

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[1]Chaloner, pp. 15-16.

[2]Train, I, 347.

[3]Chaloner, p. 28.

until 1539 when the property of the Manx monasteries was confiscated by the Manx government.[4] Not much is known about the bishop of Man because he lived in England.[5]

When James Stanley became Lord of Man, he desired a holy, not factious, bishop who could carefully supervise the clergy; the bishop could not own an English benefice. Stanley had his son Edward choose a bishop who would reside in the island. By statute and practice the bishop could rent out a section of his bishopric for twenty-one years or more.

In the middle of Charles I's reign in 1635, John Philips was consecrated Bishop of Man. He was one of the most prominent preachers of his day and was very famous for his amicability. After his death in late 1635 he was replaced by Richard Parr.[6] He was a Lancashire man, a Fellow of Brasenose College in Oxford, who taught liberal arts when James Chaloner attended there. Later Parr was very competent in a

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[4]Kinvig, p. 88.

[5]Oliver, pp. 135, 137.

[6]Train, I, 350.

parish assignment.[7] Charles I approved Parr as bishop of Man,[8] and two years later he was consecrated bishop.[9]

When Bishop Parr came to Man, he discovered that many of his ministers were only qualified to read the Manx divine service from the English Bible. He noted that the Isle of Man lacked institutions for higher education for the clergy;[10] James Stanley tried to solve this problem by planning a university, but unfortunately this never materialized.[11] Bishop Parr tried to make some reforms and admonished his clergy to instruct the Manxmen in religion. Since most of the ministers could not preach, he introduced the Book of Homilies into the Isle of Man and asked each parish to purchase a copy. Once he discovered the people in St. John's Chapel engaged in disgusting superstitions; he replaced them with sermons and divine worship.[12] While he was bishop many laws and customs of the

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[7]Chaloner, p. 15.

[8]Oliver, p. 142.

[9]Train, I, 351.

[10]Bruce, X, 410.

[11]Mackenzie, p. 19.

[12]Bruce, X, 410.

clergy were changed despite the opposition of the Manxmen. During the Civil War, the Manx see was unoccupied from 1644 to 1661.[13]

Much earlier, during the rule of Edward Stanley, the complaints that his tenants had against the church were elucidated. In 1532 the Church tithes on ale and on marriage presents were discontinued, and funeral tithes were limited.[14] Because dissension occurred again concerning funeral tithes in 1561, Sir Edward selected five commissioners to investigate and to enact laws for stopping "the great waste that hath been in the Castle and in the Peel, in bread, fuel, candles, and other things."[15] But these laws did not entirely end clerical privileges on the island because the clergy still held several offices which excused them from most of the Manx taxes. Another law safeguarded the clergy's right to keep their servants and five marks' stipend.[16]

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[13]Train, I, 351.

[14]Kinvig, p. 88.

[15]Jefferson, pp. 38, 45.

[16]Ibid., p. 64.

The most important religious event during the sixteenth century was the Reformation and it affected the Isle of Man too. In 1592 Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, wrote from Scotland that the Manx request to Parliament for freedom of conscience and any denunciation of Protestant doctrines and ministers would not be permitted.[17] The next year Richard Tailler of Linsdale, Scotland, brought priests and other recusants in a vessel to Man after they had been hunted in Scotland.[18]

The Reformation proceeded slowly on the Isle of Man because Edward Stanley remained a fervent Catholic, the isle itself was somewhat isolated, few Manxmen spoke English, and works were not published in the Manx language until 1699.[19] By 1639 most Manxmen had conformed to the Church of England,[20] and Roman Catholicism remained but a memory, practiced by only

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[17]Oliver, p. 78.

[18]SPDE, III, 377.

[19]Kinvig, p. 89.

[20]William D. Hamilton, editor Calendar of State Papers, Charles I, Domestic Series (London: Longmans & Co., 1877), XV, 322.

a small minority of the people. Thus there is a certain pattern in the Manx Reformation. The monasteries were suppressed and the land was seized; Anglican bishops replaced the Catholic bishops. Most of the people accepted the Anglican religion, but the remaining Catholics were often hunted down or even simply forgotten.

Who owned the property of the Manx Church after it had been seized during the Reformation? In 1565 a lease for twenty-one years was granted to Richard Asheton for the monasteries at Rushen and the parishes of Kirkcriste in Shelding and Kyrkeloman.[21] Queen Elizabeth bought the parishes of St. Michael and Maughold in 1585. Two years later George and Hugh Salisbury sold Kirkcriste and Kyrkeloman to Robert Salisbury.[22] And then in 1603 James I rented the rectories of St. Michael and St. Maughold to Francis Philip and Richard Moore. Three years later the monarch leased the monastery of Rushen and the priory of Douglas to Sir Thomas Spencer.[23] Then in 1610

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[21]J. H. Collingridge and R. B. Wenham, editors, Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), III, 345-346.

[22]Oliver, pp. 67, 70.

[23]Ibid., pp. 86-87.

William Stanley was given benefices at Rushen, Douglas, the Greyfriars of Brymake, and the parishes in Kirkcriste, Shelding, and Kirkeloman.[24] In 1626 a gift of the yearly rents from the monasteries of Rushen and Douglas and the rectories on the Isle of Man was given to Queen Henrietta Maria for life.[25] Thus we can see that the title to these benefices changed hands frequently from 1565 to 1626.

During James Stanley's reign a great outbreak occurred against the Manx clergy for their meddling in secular affairs. The clergy had demanded a tithe of all ale produced, of a dowry, and of the garments of the deceased besides other exhorbitant demands. These complaints had been brought up before but they were never really settled and aroused the masses so much that only the coming of James Stanley in 1643 prevented a revolt.[26] That year at the Tynwald a grand inquest was made into the requests of some parishes regarding the clergy's illegal collection of Church dues. The clergy

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[24]SPF, VIII, 604.

[25]Oliver, p. 133.

[26]Jefferson, pp. 31, 51-56.

were asked to defend themselves against these grievances and to promise changes.

The first grievance concerned wardship. If children died before fourteen, the age the law demanded before a child could transfer property, the property went to his siblings. But the clergy charged a tax of 3s.4d. to transfer the property. Stanley commanded the clergy not to charge more than 6d. The second complaint was that the lord selected parish clerks but the parishoners paid them. Sir James ruled that the parishioners and the vicar should nominate the clerk and that the bishop would confirm it.

A third point of contention was that only ministers could draw up wills and they had charged 12d for it; the party himself could have drawn up the will for nothing. Stanley ordered that anyone could write his own will or have someone write it for him. For the fourth grievance, if a person died without a will his property should have gone to his unmarried children in equal shares. But the church occasionally gave the oxen and the whole crop of corn to the eldest son, which was usually worth more than the remainder of the estate. Sir James repealed this practice.

The fifth complaint was that the clergy took 8s. for a corpse-present from the property of the deceased valued at £4; a proportionate rate was charged for property under £4. The lord ruled that no corpse-present could be taken for property under the value of £6.13s.4d; and under the value of £20 they could only take 20d. If the property was worth between £20 and £40, the clergy could just take 3s.4d, and out of property worth £40 or more they could only take 6s.4d. Furthermore, only masters of a family at the time of death were assessed for a corpse-present from their estate. If a clergyman took more for a corpse-present, he had to return the money and pay 6s.8d. to the party who had been assessed. But a cleric could receive anything which had been given or willed to him.

The sixth grievance concerned losses inflicted on citizens by clergy who came late for their corn tithe. Some tenants had lost their own corn since there would not be a sufficient supply for themselves and the clergy at the same time. Stanley commanded that each parish clergyman should give the tenants the names of those who were to receive tithes before the harvest. When the harvest came, the tenants had to notify them and if they did not collect it, the tithe would

be forfeited. A seventh point of contention against the clergy was that orphan's property and the deceased's debts were not adequately collected by the ecclesiastical court; thus orphans and creditors suffered. James Stanley commanded that the property of the deceased must be inventoried by the clergy if there were any question concerning it.

The eighth grievance was also settled. Tithes on fish and wool, fees for probation of wills, and the summer dues were abolished since they had been based on a record of 1541, a document declared invalid by Stanley. Finally, tithes due to the ministers and the proctors had to be paid on Monday and Tuesday in Easter week; if they were not paid, the ordinary had to collect them. Previously, people had been barred from receiving communion on Easter if they had not paid their tithes.[27]

The Commonwealth was also concerned with religion on the Isle of Man. In 1651 the Council of State wrote to the House of Commons that the £400 which had been the Manx bishop's annual income should be paid to the itinerant ministers on Man,

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[27]Mackenzie, pp. 110-116.

and all immoral or incompetent ministers must be discharged.[28] The next year Lord Fairfax gave money to the ministers to support the free schools at Douglas, Ramsey, Peel, and Castletown. These ministers were usually Manxmen who had been educated on the island; they were good preachers. Now probation of wills was done by the civil magistrate, not the clergy.[29] In 1653 Fairfax dispatched a governor and other Englishmen to improve the morals of the Manxmen. The statutes against fornication, adultery, profanation of Sunday, swearing, and drunkenness were to be enforced by the civil magistrate. The laws for dismissing immoral clergymen in England were to be observed on Man. Lastly, Manxmen were to receive religious training.[30]

In conclusion, James Stanley solved most of the grievances that the people had against the Anglican Church on the Isle of Man. This is why they conformed to it so well during

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[28]SPC, IV, 22.

[29]Chaloner, p. 18.

[30]SPC, V, 141.

his time. The power of the clergy over the Manxmen was gradually reduced and civil officials assumed some of the duties that were formerly exercised by the clergy. When the Commonwealth government was in power, Presbyterianism replaced Anglicanism as the official religion, yet it did not make much difference to the majority of the Manx. In 1660 episcopacy and Anglicanism were restored.

VI. DEFENCE OF THE ISLE

Man was an island located in a very turbulent channel. Its coast was surrounded by lofty, rocky cliffs and precipices of sand except for the north shore near Ayre which was low and beachy. Thus the isle was naturally safe from invaders. Nevertheless it possessed a competent militia; each man from the age of sixteen to sixty had to "watch and ward"--patrol for invaders.[1] Each parish had a captain who trained the tenants; if trouble came, 5000 to 6000 could be armed. The isle was also fortified with castles, the strongest was at Rushen, which was aesthetically rather than strategically located on a flat plain with a stream running near it. This castle was so far from the shallow, rocky harbor at Rushen that by itself it could not prevent an enemy from invading there. Thus James Stanley built a fort near Lanquet-Point to protect this harbor and Rainsway,[2] and another castle was built

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[1]Chaloner, pp. 55-56.

[2]Jefferson, p. 86.

at Peel. It was to these forts that the people fled in case of invasion. The number of troops at these castles is unknown.

According to a Manx tradition the Norwegians had originally erected the forts at Rushen and Peel. Peel Castle was located on St. Patrick's Isle, easily defensible from naval invaders. But at low tide the defenders could be trapped in the castle by invaders on a hill near it. Douglas had a stone blockhouse to protect the harbor and road adequately from enemies, and Ramsey had a sufficient number of mounted guns for defence. Finally, Stanley built a fort in the middle of the isle, not for defence but for communication with the other forts in wartime, and possibly to prevent a Manx revolution.[3] As far as the personnel of the military establishment on Man is concerned, only the names of the governors, who were usually its military leaders, and a few other persons are known.[4]

Military activity was rather quiet on the island until the 1590's when many people were afraid that Man would be invaded by the Spanish. From Edinburgh George Nicolson warned

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[3]Chaloner, pp. 56-57.

[4]SPJ, XII, 441.

the Privy Council that the Spanish were going to invade England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man in 1591. A person named Lambe was aiding the Spanish, and Sir Walter Lindsay was plotting to restore the Prince of Orange to his throne with the aid of the pope and the French. Nicolson planned to imprison Lambe, Lindsay, and other sympathizers and to prepare the defence of the Manx seacoast.[5] Sir Ferdinand Stanley began to strengthen his troops at the Peel and Rushen Castles in 1593.[6] Later many Scots arrived in Ireland and planned to invade Man, but they never did.[7]

During 1595 there was much correspondence from George Nicolson and John Cunningham to Robert Bowes, the English ambassador to Scotland, regarding possible invasions of the Isle of Man. A great number of boats had been noticed in the sea near Clyde which were commanded by the young Lord of Laus Jurion near Glasgow. Although the Manxmen were not alerted

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[5]Oliver, p. 76.

[6]Jefferson, p. 86.

[7]Hans Hamilton, editor, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth (London: Longman, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1890), V, 127.

of this invasion, they would not permit any invaders to land anyway. At the same time, in Ireland a certain Angus McConnell was at Lithgew with the king and asked him for more land. McConnell threatened to invade Man unless he got his wish, but the king warned him against it.[8] Even though many rumors were circulating about a Manx invasion, there is no mention of an invasion of the Isle of Man in the personal correspondence of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors.

Despite the nonexistence of a Manx invasion, in 1595 the Privy Council supplied Thomas Gerrard, the Manx military commander, with armor and munitions from London. Various means were employed by Gerrard and the Spanish during the preparations for war[9] and for seizing provisions from England:

> a suitable place was Dublin and . . . if such places be taken by them on the coast of Wales, . . . the Isle of Man, Barnarrish, Milford Haven, and the Waterford River in Ireland.[10]

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[8]Oliver, pp. 79-85.

[9]John R. Dasent, Acts of the Privy Council, Elizabeth I (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1901), XXV, 143.

[10]Brewer, III, 106.

In 1595 Tyrone rebelled in Ireland, and if he could have captured the Isle of Man the Spanish would have had a launching base from which to invade Ireland.[11] The Privy Council informed Thomas Gerrard in 1598 of Manxmen who were collaborating with the Irish rebels and forbade the Manxmen to sell grain to them.[12] The next year the Earl of Essex wrote from Ireland to the Privy Council that he speedily wanted money and supplies either from England or the Isle of Man to stop Tyrone.[13] In 1600 the lord treasurer paid Thomas Gerrard for the food that he had sent to the queen's troops in Carlingford, Ireland.[14]

Once again the Isle of Man was inactive as far as military affairs were concerned until the Civil War. In 1643, after the grievances of the Manxmen had been partially settled, James Stanley was able to concentrate on enlarging his army and fortifying the island. He established a cavalry of 288

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[11] Ibid., p. 129.

[12] Dasent, XXVII, 281.

[13] Ernest G. Atkinson, editor, Calendar of the State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth (Norwich: "Norfolk Chronicle" Company, Ltd., 1899), VIII, 93.

[14] Dasent, XXXI, 119.

men, continually drilled his infantry, and increased the garrisons at the Rushen and Peel castles. Seven camps were established in Man. New forts were built at Fort Island, called Fort Derby, at the Point of Ayre,[15] and at Lanquet-Point called Fort Loyal, to protect Rushen Harbor and Rainsway.[16] Ballachurry in Andreas parish was also fortified.

Various negotiations were carried on between Parliament and Stanley during the Civil War. He intimated that he might join Parliament's side if the fortifications and garrison at his Latham estate were destroyed and if the Isle of Man were not seized.[17] Sir James's captured servants were brought to Man in 1645. However, although Latham was still fortified, Stanley permitted Parliamentary troops to use Man as a launching base for the war with Ireland.[18] But the accord between Stanley and Parliament was not to last. In 1650 Parliament secretly planned to conquer the Isle of Man because Sir James

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[15]Kinvig, p. 97.

[16]Chaloner, p. 55.

[17]W. Hamilton, XX, 94, 137.

[18]W. Hamilton, XXI, 166, 242.

supported Charles II.[19] Then Colonel Birch captured Stanley's family, Governor Greenhalgh, and their chaplain, and brought them to Liverpool for safekeeping. Sir James was asked to free the Roundhead prisoners on Man or else his family would be punished.[20]

The Council of State requested the Army Committee in 1651 to send supplies for the army of occupation for the Isle of Man since the island would not be capable of furnishing them. Three months' pay and supplies were also to be sent.[21] The Council ordered Birch to send investigators to Man to interview prisoners[22] for information to employ at their trials. Since Cromwell had defeated the Royalists, in order to enlist the prisoners' support for the new government Birch was to free them and their records were to be sent to the Council.[23]

Later the Council of State wrote to Justice Mackworth at Pool that news had been received from Scotland about con-

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[19]SPC, I, 512.

[20]SPC, II, 169.

[21]SPC, IV, 140.

[22]SPC, III, 32.

[23]SPC, III, pp. 427-429.

spirators in and around North Wales who were planning to invade there by launching troops from the Isle of Man. Mackworth was told to ask the Militia Commissioners, the governors, and the chief commanders of Parliament for an army to repel the invaders. The munitions of suspects should be impounded and dangerous persons must be held who would otherwise help the invaders. North Wales was to be watched so that a sufficient number of troops might be sent there if an invasion were launched from Man. Major-General Thomas Harrison was requested to patrol the isle, to keep peace, and to crush rebellions and invasions there.[24]

In addition, the Council also asked Quarter-Master General Hugh Courtness, Governor of Beaumaris, to watch for Scotch invaders from the Isle of Man. Colonel Birch informed the Council of the Royalists' plans, and he asked for troops from Lancashire to stop them. Directions had been given to Parliamentary vessels near Man; provision to the enemy from that island should be stopped. Courtness was to notify the

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[24]Ibid., pp. 89, 156.

Council about the enemy and the Parliamentary army on Man.[25] Meanwhile, the Irish and Scotch Committee and Colonel Robert Duckenfield, governor of Chester, prepared for the conquest of the Isle of Man and told Cromwell.[26] The Council then wrote to Duckenfield that since Isaac Birkenhead knew the island, he could help in its invasion. Cromwell selected Duckenfield to lead the army to conquer the isle, so Birkenhead was sent to him with other personnel for the invasion, such as Lieutenant Colonel Roseworm, the engineer general. Cromwell sent Duckenfield tents and other supplies for his expedition.[27]

James Stanley's fortunes now began to sink. Charles Walley paid £10 from the Council of State's funds to every man who captured Stanley while trying to escape after his defeat at Worcester. Then Colonel Duckenfield asked the Scotch and Irish Committee for funds for the invasion of Man. He and Walley wrote to the Admiralty Committee to decide how the cavalry and six companies of infantry could be employed in

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[25] Ibid., pp. 303, 332.

[26] Ibid., pp. 410, 413, 439.

[27] Ibid., pp. 448, 450, 454.

the Manx expedition.[28] Soon afterwards, Duckenfield tried to sail to Man with 3000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 40 vessels, but unfavorable winds forced him to come back to Beaumaris.[29] Later Colonel Birch conquered Ramsey in Man and prepared to subjugate the castles at Peel and Rushen. The Council was to plan what would be done with the isle during its occupation. The Irish and Scotch Committee were to send instructions and personnel to finish the conquest of Man.[30] After a discussion with Cromwell, the Council of State informed the House of Commons that 240 soldiers with officers would be required to occupy the island.[31] Commons was to approve salaries for officers and funds to buy munitions for the Manx garrison.[32]

After Duckenfield conquered Man, conspiracies against Parliament still had not been ended there. The Council wrote to the Governor of Hull that Captain Cotterell, a captive at

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[28]Ibid., pp. 474, 477, 479.

[29]Hinds, XXVIII, 205.

[30]SPC, IV, 7-8.

[31]Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[32]Ibid., p. 29.

Hull, could give important information about these plots, according to Manxman John Christian. He would help interrogate Cotterell and send the results to the Council which they would forward to Duckenfield. Then the Council wrote the Army Committee that Cromwell demanded that the cavalry led by Duckenfield which was being used to hold captives from Chester to London instead should be employed on Man for three extra weeks. Money would be given to Duckenfield to pay them.[33]

In 1652 the Council of State was to ask Lieutenant Roseworm for information concerning the repair of the forts and castles to fortify Man. Then the Council wrote to the Army Committee that they would raise the pay of the soldiers on Man instead of sending them home. Parliament was to reimburse Duckenfield for the money which he spent during his ten years of military service.[34] Then the Council had the Army Committee reduce the Manx army from 240 to 150 soldiers. Yet all was not well because there were constant delays and consequent suffering for the Manx troops due to the Council's

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[33]SPC, IV, 75-79.

[34]Ibid., pp. 131-132.

slow correspondence with Duckenfield.[35] Later Cromwell's armies were dispatched to the Isle of Man to enlarge their regiments to 1200 after they had helped in the Manx occupation. The war treasurers were to issue fourteen days' pay for the Manx army.[36]

The Council wrote to Lord Fairfax in 1653 that James Chaloner had told them of Fairfax's intention of appointing a governor for the Isle of Man. The Council wanted the castles to be garrisoned by a sufficient number of loyal Englishmen. In addition, the Council wanted to know whether Fairfax would maintain the castle himself to control the isle as the Stanleys formerly did. If Fairfax would notify the Council, they could send away the garrisons currently there and leave both the civil and military control of Man to him or to a governor. Later the Committee of Officers recommended that Major Wade select 400 men to defend the isle.[37] A salary was given to them every two or three months, the money coming from

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[35] Ibid., pp. 281, 330.

[36] Ibid., p. 352.

[37] SPC, V, 141, 151.

neighboring, prosperous counties in England.[38] Later the Council gave directions to Fairfax on how the Isle of Man would be demobilized and then be given to him. The Committee of Officers was to discuss whether the forts and castles on Man were adequate for its defence, and what troops were needed for the guard.[39]

In 1655 Colonel Sydenham reported to the Committee of Council concerning nine weeks' pay for the army and the reduction of forces on the Isle of Man. Then Cromwell and the Council established cavalry and garrisons in Man.[40] Somewhat later some veterans on Man who had served ten or twelve years petitioned the Council for money to pay their debts,[41] but Charles Walley issued only one month's salary to them. In 1659 the Farmers of Excise gave Major Wade one third of the money that was owed to his company in Man,[42] and the Committee

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[38]SPC, VI, 74, 131.

[39]Ibid., pp. 336, 409.

[40]SPC, VIII, 229, 238.

[41]Ibid., pp. 344-345.

[42]SPC, XI, 6, 14, 112.

of Safety appointed Major Ralph Waterhouse and his troops to supplant Wade's company.[43] In 1660 the island was restored to the Derbys without any military uprising.

In conclusion, the chief military importance of the Isle of Man was its strategic location. From it invasions could be launched to England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Parliament feared that it would be used as such by the Spanish, the Scots, and the Royalist sympathizers. The island was perfectly capable of defending itself from ordinary invaders, but was obviously not capable of stopping large forces like the Parliamentary army which invaded under Colonel Duckenfield. And the only significant fighting on the isle occurred during a short time when it was being invaded. Outside of this, the Isle of Man was free of military disturbances.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 226, 579.

VII. NAVAL AFFAIRS

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Isle of Man had a regular army but not a regular navy. However, the island was very important because it was often used as a naval base from which to launch invasions in Ireland, to stop French and Spanish invasions, and to supply English ships.[1] In 1566 Queen Elizabeth I sent arquebusiers from the garrison of Berwick in England to fight in Ireland. On their way they passed through Man.[2] In the Irish campaign of 1575 the Privy Council gave horses, supplies, and ships to the queen's troops if they had to retreat to the Isle of Man.[3] Concerning the Irish Sea, in 1576 the Privy Council issued:

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[1]Sophie C. Lomas, editor, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth (London: The Hereford Times Limited, 1914), XVIII, 339. Atkinson, VII, 70. Atkinson, IX, 200, 412.

[2]Allan J. Crosby, editor, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth (London: Longmans & Co., 1871), VIII, 98.

[3]Dasent, VIII, 362.

> A warraunt to the Threasurer and Chamberlaines of thexchequer for the payment of 100 markes to William Norries . . . in consideration of an overplus of charges sustained in transporacion of his soldiours out of Ireland by reason of wanting windes, and driven by tempest to the Isle of Man in the voyage VII wekes.[4]

Other events occurred on the sea near Man, but they will be discussed in a later section on piracy. While the Civil War was being fought, James Stanley built a small navy which occasionally fought with Parliamentary ships. One time his navy vanquished five warships and on another occasion they protected Man from aggression by three Roundhead vessels.[5] During Parliament's invasion of Ireland in 1644 James and Charlotte Stanley promised not to interfere with Parliament's boats.[6] After the conquest of Man, the Council of State appointed[7] Colonel Blake as commander of a fleet to patrol the eastern and northern coasts of Man.[8]

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[4]Dasent, IX, 117.

[5]Kinvig, p. 97.

[6]W. Hamilton, XIX, 444.

[7]SPC, IV, 19.

[8]SPC, III, 86-88, 91.

Later the Admiralty Committee was to exchange for Royalist prisoners the crew of the ship Post of Holyhead, recently captured and brought to Man by Colonel Birch.[9] The Council warned him that Charles II and his troops were marching south through England and ordered him to watch the Isle of Man since Charles might try to conquer it. Colonel Robert Blake dispatched two vessels to Man which would stop Manx provisions to Charles II and a meeting of his troops with more volunteers.[10] The Admiralty Committee selected some ships to help patrol that island. Later the Council asked the captain of the Charles to patrol Man, where many Royalists had fled and had been helping the Scotch army in Lancashire.[11]

Naval maneuvers continued near the Isle of Man. The Council of State wrote to Colonel Thomas Fitch, Governor of Carlisle, to command the captains of a fleet to Man to bring tools and supplies to their admiral.[12] Later the war

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[9]Ibid., p. 227.

[10]Ibid., pp. 308-318.

[11]Ibid., pp. 334-335, 341.

[12]SPC, III, 442.

treasurers paid Charles Walley to bring troops and supplies to the Isle of Man.[13] In 1652 the Council was to have booty from the Isle of Man which had been taken during its conquest, evaluated and sold, except goods that the Manx army or Council wanted. The House of Commons was to have the commissioners at Haberdasher's Hall select agents to evaluate and sell the goods.[14]

The English navy had always been plagued by a shortage of sailors, and various means, honorable or dishonorable, were used by the admirals to alleviate this shortage. To help solve this problem, in 1653 Isaac Birkenhead stated that the Manxmen fished for herring each summer, using 400 boats with a crew of five or seven men in each. Since the Manxmen were experienced sailors, Birkenhead proposed that if one man were drafted from each craft, the English government would have 400 additional sailors.[15]

The Isle of Man was often used as a base for supplies

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[13]SPC, IV, 53, 551, 580.

[14]Ibid., p. 130.

[15]SPC, V, 271.

to English ships.[16] In 1654 Captain John Parker wrote to the Navy Commissioners that the commissioners in Dublin had ordered him to sail with the Fox and Lord Henry Cromwell to Beaumaris, the Isle of Man, and Cantyre Mull. Due to a seastorm Parker had to stop at Chester Bar for supplies and repairs.[17] The Navy Commissioners sent £1000 and thirty days' supplies to his garrison at Ayre.[18]

In 1655 Captain Richard Cowes wrote to the Admiralty Committee about his trip around the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland, and Scotland. He stopped for supplies at Dublin and the Lord Deputy instructed him to go to Beaumaris and bring Henry Cromwell and his party to Dublin. However, since Cromwell was not prepared to sail, Cowes went back to Dublin without him.[19] Then William Serjant wrote to the Navy Commissioners that he had left Chester Water previously with

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[16]SPC, IV, 138. SPC, VI, 443, 570.

[17]SPC, VII, 471.

[18]SPC, VII, 477, 485.

[19]SPC, VIII, 457.

Commissary Fowler and three supply ships. After a great sea-storm they sailed by Man and arrived at Lochaber, where Fowler brought the funds to be delivered on the ship Advantage. Then Serjant brought Fowler back to Chester Water.[20] In 1659 Cowes patroled Man for pirates as had been directed by the Irish Commissioners. The Admiralty Committee instructed him to obtain supplies and to come back to Dublin.[21]

Shipwrecks and piracy were important naval problems that the Manx governor had to deal with. Periodically the English Privy Council reimbursed merchants for loss of ships at sea around the Isle of Man. For example, in 1575 the Council paid Edward Barckley £15 for the loss of his ship during a storm and for expenses for his soldiers while they stayed on Man.[22] According to international law, salvaged wrecks could be auctioned for the ruler's profit since the salvage was his property. Felon's goods, such as "oxen and kyne, horses and mayres, belong to the king by his royalty;"

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[20]Ibid., p. 270.

[21]SPC, XI, 453.

[22]Dasent, IX, 41.

however, the goats of felons belonged to the queen.[23]

Piracy was the most serious problem that the Isle of Man had to face during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not considering the invasion of the island itself. For example, the sea robbers Pole and Champney had been arrested in the Canary Islands for piracy in 1560, but they stole a boat in the harbor while its crew was at church and sailed with its Spanish cargo to Man. The next year, Pole, Champney, and some Spaniards who had sailed with them were captured on Man, but Champney escaped.[24] Five years later, a commissioner from Lancashire was appointed to defend Manx merchants from buccaneers.[25] In 1575, an indictment was made at the court held at Padstow in Cornwall against the pirates of the ship La Cressant de Rochell for attacking a Manx boat.[26] In 1578

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[23]Jeffcote, I, 25, 36, 60.

[24]SPDE, IV, 234.

[25]Dasent, VII, 282.

[26]Robert Lemon, editor, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth (London: Longmans, Brown, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1856), I, 502.

the Privy Council reimbursed some Manx merchants for ships and cargo which had been seized by Scottish adventurers.[27]

Other incidents of piracy can be mentioned. The English buccaneers Captains Wickes and Woode raided a Danish fishing vessel in 1588 and sold most of its cargo at Westchester; the adventurers soon left for the Isle of Man. King Christian IV of Denmark demanded their punishment for this outrage.[28] In 1597 Thomas Venebles, the former captain of the Dolphin, a ship from Portsmouth, raided a vessel from Waterford, Ireland belonging to Nicholas Lea. Since the cargo on this ship belonged to the Earl of Ormond, he protested to the Privy Council. They issued a warrant to regain the cargo which had been sold in Man and other nearby localities. Any merchants who had bought the cargo were to give it to be placed in custody by the Manx governor or other officers until the pirates were convicted.[29]

No further instances of piracy occurred until 1624,

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[27]Dasent, X, 256.

[28]Lomas, XXI, part 1, 494.

[29]Dasent, XXVII, 281-283.

when Sir Henry Marten, the Judge of the Admiralty, wanted a report concerning French vessels in the Isle of Man. The English had a suit against them for piracy, and the Judge wanted quick action. The French pirates had been apprehended, but the case had not been settled. Letters of assistance were asked from James I or the Privy Council since the case concerned the Isle of Man, and William Stanley probably would not surrender any rights that he had in the case. The Admiralty Court did not have jurisdiction over Man.

Later the Admiralty Court issued a commission to receive compensation for the French vessel Cardinal of Rouen and its sugar cargo, which belonged to the company of Simon Nevilla.[30] Previously, after the boat had left Portugal, it had been seized by a Dutch pirate and carried to the Isle of Man. The vessel and its cargo were impounded by the Manx officials and still remained on the island. The Admiralty Court could not answer Nevilla's petition, but due to complaints from the French ambassador, King James I wanted the

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[30]SPJ, XI, 351, 366.

vessel and cargo given to the commission.[31] Then Peter Richaut, a London merchant, had a ship captured at Bretagne. Compensation was denied him because Countess Alice Stanley protested that she had not been heard in the case, and now she asked for a stay. A clause had been included in the commission to protect her rights and to permit her to go to court for her title if the French vessel was ruled to be hers.[32]

Piracy continued despite efforts to suppress it. In 1633 the Lords of the Admiralty Court had a plan to punish buccaneers and those who aided them on the Isle of Man. Captain Thomas Gayner of the True Love of London was sailing from Man with the St. Jacob of Rotterdam and seized The Fortune. John Boyirman petitioned the Council that his vessel be returned and that Gayner and his crew be penalized for piracy.[33] In another incident of piracy, Captain Downes had been imprisoned on the Isle of Man for being a sea robber.[34] In

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[31]H. C. Maxwell Lyte, Acts of the Privy Council, 1615-1616 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933), VI, 337-338.

[32]SPJ, XI, 356.

[33]Bruce, VI, 419, 506.

[34]Bruce, V, 97.

1645 a group of Scotch pirates looted Ramsey, but James Stanley was reimbursed by the Scotch Parliament for damages. Three years later he erected Fort Loyal to safeguard Ramsey from invaders. Then he started to build a fort on the Horsehill opposite Peel Castle to prevent help from ships if the castle should either rebel or be attacked.[35]

In 1649 Cumberland was attacked by buccaneers who lived on the Isle of Man. The Council of State sent the Irish squadron to stop the pirates and to patrol the seacoast.[36] The next year the Admiralty Committee wrote to the Navy Commissioners that the Irish Committee had asked for boats, soldiers, horses, and supplies from Chester and Liverpool to patrol Ireland and the Isle of Man. Sea robbers on Man had threatened trade and visitors to Ireland. The Irish Committee recommended a good ship then at Liverpool named the Convert of Liverpool. The Navy Commissioners were to ask its skipper how much he wanted to join the winter guard.[37] The

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[35]Train, I, 199.

[36]SPC, I, 108.

[37]SPC, II, 272-273.

Council wrote to the House of Commons in 1651 that since most of the cargo brought to Man was owned by loyal Englishmen, they could get it back if they proved ownership. The remainder of the cargo which was lawful prize would be given to the troops and two ships there to protect the isle against piracy or invasion.[38]

Later Matthew Franklin of Swansea complained to the Admiralty judges that his vessel had been seized and brought to Man. The Council notified the Manx government to help him recover his possessions.[39] Then the Council wrote to Colonel Duckenfield, the Manx governor, that Richard and Edward Child had petitioned them regarding their ship the Betty, now at Man. The governor was to investigate and impound the cargo. Soon afterwards the Council wrote him that the Swansea, a tar boat owned by Matthew Franklin was taken by the Royalists and brought to Man. Since Franklin had cleared his title to the vessel and cargo in the Admiralty Court, Duckenfield should

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[38]SPC, IV, 22.

[39]Ibid., p. 30.

restore (as soon as possible) his valuable property.[40]

In 1652 the Council wrote the Manx governor Samuel Smith that all property on Man seized from Roundheads by the pirates of James Stanley and others whom he had protected there must be given back after proof of ownership had been made. Then the Council gave Duckenfield the old Dutch ship of Captain Barlet and the small craft of former governor Philip Musgrave because Duckenfield had paid for their upkeep.[41] Later Captain John Young and three owners of the Exchange of London petitioned the Council that the Navy Commissioners could hire their boat for government use. The boat was loaded for Newfoundland and prepared to leave under the direction of General Black. But since Prince Rupert had been capturing vessels near the Isle of Man, the owners of the Exchange decided not to rent their boat.[42]

Captain John Taylor had patrolled the coast of Man for pirates in 1654 and met the St. Francis of Brest with its

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[40] Ibid., pp. 60, 66.

[41] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

[42] Ibid., p. 282.

booty. Later Captain Edward Tarleton brought Commissary Fowler to Holyhead and patrolled between the Isle of Man and the Western Isle of Scotland for pirates for five weeks.[43] Soon afterwards the Admiralty Committee reported a petition of Captain Richard White that in 1651 his vessel, the Richard of London, had been employed in Man; he was compensated for this but was prevented from making another trip which would have been more profitable to him. So the Commissioners for Prize Goods paid him again.[44]

Then the Admiralty Committee took notice of the grievance of traders against sea robbers on the coast who had not been punished. A ship near the Isle of Man had looted a boat from Liverpool the week before and had carried its plunder near Captain Cowe's warship; he permitted the pirate to steal his money. At least five buccaneers were on the coast, some with twenty-two guns per boat, so smaller ships were afraid to sail to Ireland. If the pirates were not stopped, the Irish trade would have been ruined.[45] Later Cowes escorted

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[43]SPC, VII, 261, 519.

[44]Ibid., p. 269.

[45]SPC, XI, 458.

a fleet from Milford to Wexford and Dublin, and then had patrolled in the channel between Caricksfergus and Man. There he pursued a pirate vessel several times, but failed to catch him because his own boat was leaking. Cowes sailed to Dublin for repairs and supplies.[46] By 1654 piracy was suppressed around the Isle of Man.

From 1558 to 1660 the Isle of Man was chiefly important as a naval base from which to launch invasions to Ireland or Scotland. The island itself did not have a navy except during the Civil War, and then it was only a small force. But the English government was very concerned about Man and constantly watched it for possible invaders. The naval problem of chief concern in the island besides watching for invaders was piracy, and this was gradually brought under control. Unfortunately, shipwrecks too were frequent but the English government often reimbursed the owners for their losses.

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[46]Ibid., p. 462.

CONCLUSION

This completes an examination of the Isle of Man during the period from 1558 to 1660, a study which discussed Manx geography and history, the rulers and its people, its laws and economy, its religion and its defense problems.

The struggle over the title to the Isle of Man was not for political and economic motives but because the Stanley family wanted to retain their title to the island. The same care would have been exercised on property which they had claimed in England. The best Manx ruler had been the brilliant James Stanley, who in the face of great defeat had upheld the English king and had loyally died for him. Like Charles I, Sir James had been dictatorial and dishonest toward his opponents.

In domestic policies Stanley's aims varied. His land laws were hated, yet were similar to those enforced by other English nobles. He was convinced that when the Manxmen recognized his power as their ruler and landlord, he would do everything to provide for their welfare. For instance, he had

tried to reform dues for the Church on the Isle of Man. Stanley's natural loyalty to the king had greatly endangered Man for a cause that was Sir James's, not the Manxmen's. But after Parliament had captured the island, conditions there under the Commonwealth remained as they were under the Stanleys. Lord Fairfax controlled the Manx government but he was relatively unconcerned about the isle itself.

Even though the majority of Manxmen were impoverished, there was a little gentry class which lived similarly to the one in England. But the Manxmen had a language and habits like those of the Scots. Severe statutes were usually executed for the interests of the Lords of Man, not for the interests of their subjects. Thus life on the Isle of Man was difficult, but there was no rebellion against the rulers until the Civil War period.

The primary means of living for most of the inhabitants on Man was farming, yet a significant and widespread foreign commerce was being engaged in by Manx merchants. Though the control of the isle's economy appears unwarranted, this regulation was being carried on in England, the rest of Europe, and the Spanish American colonies too.

In regard to religion, the Reformation progressed gradually on the Isle of Man since Edward Stanley had continued to be a devout Catholic, the island was somewhat remote, most Manxmen could not speak English, and volumes were not printed in the Manx language before 1699. But by 1639 the majority of Manxmen practiced Anglicanism, and Catholicism had almost died out. The Manx Reformation followed this arrangement: the monasteries were closed and expropriated and Anglican prelates supplanted the Catholic Church because James Stanley had adjusted most of the complaints that his subjects had against it. The substitution of Presbyterianism for Anglicanism during the Commonwealth era was received by most of the islanders without trouble. In addition, the authority of the clergy over them had slowly diminished because civil officers had taken over a certain number of jobs that were previously performed by the clergymen themselves.

Despite the fact that the Isle of Man could repel small invasions, it was not able to halt big armies such as the Parliamentary forces which came in 1651. The island also was an extremely important naval station which supplied invaders who were going into Scotland and Ireland during

wartime. Man only had a navy during the Civil War, and it was not a very large fleet. The primary military and naval significance of the Isle of Man was its strategic position, for from it invaders could be sent to Scotland, Wales, Ireland, and England. Parliament was afraid that the isle in turn would be employed as a launching base by the Royalists, the Spanish, and the Scots.

Thus the Stanleys, the English Privy Council, and the Council of State watched the Isle of Man carefully for an invasion of England launched from it, for religious disturbances, and for piracy. Their caution met with success because England was never invaded from Man, the Reformation triumphed on the island, and piracy there was eventually suppressed. Despite its medieval orientation and the great difficulties with which it was confronted, the government of the Isle of Man generally met its responsibilities to its own people and to England adequately during the period from 1558 to 1660.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Jack Ongemach has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

January 10, 1966
Date

William R. Trimble
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